

teration the danger of smuggling would be so much increased, as to affect not merely the revenues of the Company, but those of the Kingdom. It had been alleged, that the Court of Directors have not given all the facilities that could be wished to the private trade. But what did the Company offer last year? An unlimited extension of trade, export and import, to and from India, in the ships of the private merchants.— And what did they ask in return? That the goods imported should be secured in the Company's warehouses, in the port of London. What did they contend for? That the port of London, which had ever been the *emporium* of India commerce, should ever continue so. (*Hear! hear!*!) This arrangement was for the benefit of the Empire at large, and for the advantage of the adventurers themselves, because the London market afforded the surest and readiest place for sale. He was in hopes, that, with the enlarged view which Ministers must have taken of the subject, they would have considered it in this light, and attended to the representations of the numerous classes of people connected with the Company, not only in the metropolis, but in different towns throughout the country, particularly in the West of England, who were desirous that the trade should remain as it then was. It was much to

be lamented that Ministers had not taken that view of the question. Therefore, it would be necessary that the Company should present a petition to the House of Lords, similar to that, which, with the concurrence of the Court, had already been presented to the House of Commons; and perhaps it might also be necessary, at some future stage of the business, to cause petitions to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, praying to be heard by counsel, and to examine witnesses at the bar of each House respectively. The Court of Directors did not know, exactly, the stage when it would be proper to present these latter petitions to the two Houses. It would certainly be necessary that a petition should be presented to the House of Lords of the same description as that already presented to the House of Commons; and what the Court of Directors now requested was, the sanction of the Court of Proprietors to affix the seal of the Company to petitions, to the Houses of Lords and Commons, praying to be heard by council and to examine witnesses, if necessary, without calling another General Court. He should, therefore, move,—

“ That this Court concur in the propriety of presenting a Petition to the House of Lords, similar to that presented to the House of Commons.”

This motion was carried unanimously.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* next moved—

“ That this Court do sanction the annexation
“ of the Company’s seal to petitions, to be pre-
“ sented, if necessary, to the Houses of Lords
“ and Commons, praying to be heard, at their
“ bars, by counsel, and to examine witnesses.”

On this motion being put,

Mr. *Randle Jackson* rose and said, if he understood, correctly, the course of their proceedings, the Court would not, on that day, be called on for a decisive opinion, much less for any conclusion on the Resolutions which had been read to them. They, along with other important and interesting matters, would be suffered to lie over, in order that the Court might exercise their judgement upon them after a calm and serious consideration; for every claim to serious consideration, which no less than a question of existence could have, the papers then before the Court possessed. They were at length approaching to that crisis which had been long foreseen—every step they trod assumed a shade more awful than the preceding; and they were then about to decide on their future existence, at least according to the conception of the term entertained by that Court, and by the Court of Directors:—for, to call *that existence*, which could only be an impaired and

mutilated state, did not coincide with their application of the term. It was not *that* state which they would covet, nor perhaps even accept. (*Hear! hear!*) Under these circumstances, they could not probably employ that morning better, than by taking a fair and candid view of their situation, as affected by the Resolutions proposed on the part of His Majesty's Ministers. He believed, there was no person who had attended the debate on Monday evening, as he had done, in his anxiety to procure every information on the subject, both with respect to what might be said respecting those Resolutions, as well as to the Resolutions themselves, without feeling an extraordinary degree of interest. The Noble Lord who proposed the Resolutions, avowedly abstained from going into detail, in his preliminary observations; and, in pursuing that course, he certainly acted right. He, therefore, confined himself to *generalities*; and the Deputy Chairman (Mr. Thornton) exercised a sound discretion, in circumscribing his reply to those generalities. It would be an act of injustice to his own feelings, if he did not state, that the speech of the noble Lord breathed throughout a spirit of fairness and conciliation—a desire to mediate between conflicting parties; and, at least in appearance, seemed to declare the true

feelings of his mind, that the plan he was then propounding was the best calculated for the general interest of the empire. Still, however, it was no presumption in men like them, who, for so many years had attended to the interests of India, and who had, consequently, derived no inconsiderable degree of information on the subjects connected with the state of *that* empire, if they still persisted in maintaining those opinions, which had been, on former occasions, clearly laid down, and respectfully submitted ;—opinions that brought them to this final question, whether they, and the principles on which they were founded, were still to be adhered to, as they had heretofore been ?

He heard, with uncommon pleasure, the high compliments which the Noble Lord paid, not merely to the government of the Company abroad and at home ; not merely to the rectitude of their administration in either region ; but honestly and fairly imputing to the Company, that *they* had been the persons who raised this mighty empire ; and that *they*, who had been the functionaries presiding over those immense territories, had governed their subjects with the most equitable and beneficent sway. (*Hear ! hear !*). He would read from the speech of his Lordship, a passage of that description ; and, if ever a me-

tion were made in that Court, for an honorary inscription to the Company, nothing more appropriate, he was convinced, than that passage, could be selected. It ought to be written in letters of gold, as a justification, to all posterity, not merely of the course which the Company *had* pursued, but of the firmness with which they were *then* acting. "The Company," said his Lordship, "have raised a mighty empire, and they have governed it in the manner best calculated to promote the general interests of the state, and to produce and support the happiness of the extensive population entrusted to their care." (*Hear! hear!*) Now, if all the writers on moral philosophy, on political economy, and on ethics, of the best and purest nature, were to combine their abilities, to form a single proposition, declaratory of a pure and perfect government, he would defy them to state it in terms more forcible or comprehensive than those made use of by the noble Lord. His Lordship says of us, that *we*, the East-India Company, have raised an empire of proud importance to the country;—that *we*, the East-India Company, by our care have preserved that empire;—that *we*, the East-India Company, have introduced a government, not merely formed to uphold the greatness and splendour of the state—but that *we* have erected a

government which has perfectly answered the true end for which governments should be instituted, namely, one that has secured the complete safety, happiness and prosperity of the parties governed.

—(*Hear! hear!*) If, then, the East-India Company be in itself so perfect—if its conduct be so honourable, so unimpeachable—if that body has administered the government of this proud empire in so unexceptionable a manner—the single question for every honest senator was, whether or not, that, which was now about to be proposed, would not risk the safety of the establishment so eloquently described? And whether the advantage which the commerce of the country might derive from throwing open the trade, bore any proportion to the risk which must inevitably be incurred?

The noble Lord, however, to induce those who heard him, to agree in the principle, that the opening the trade to the Outports would be a most judicious measure, stated three points for the consideration of the House of Commons; first, whether it would be for the benefit of the empire at large, that the trade should remain as it at present is? (And, on this point, he (Mr. Jackson) would, by and by, request the attention of the Court, to what he would not call wilful misstatements—but to statements, which, if not met

by counter-observations, (and, he hoped, the indulgence of the Court, that day, would enable him to adduce some arguments to the purpose) might have the effect of perpetuating in the mind of Lord Castlereagh's auditors, that undue impression, which his Lordship's speech, in the first instance, was particularly calculated to produce. To advert then to the first query put by his Lordship, " whether it was for the interest of the empire, that the India trade should remain as at present constituted?" it must, at the first glance, strike every person, that, from the beginning to the end of this question, no notice whatever was taken of those great, and almost unlimited qualifications, which the Company expressed their willingness to agree to. It was not, therefore, a correct proposition—it was, in fact, begging the question. No person in that Court had contended that the trade should remain as it was. It was admitted, that it was capable of great and extensive modification; and, every gentleman who heard him would do him the justice to say, that, from the first moment he delivered his sentiments on the subject, he expressed himself to that effect—" Deepen the channel," said he, " as much as you please—widen it, enlarge it, if it be too narrow—but continue to preserve it. Let there not be an

indiscriminate commerce to India—if you endeavour to carry it on through a hundred different streams, some of them will become too mighty for your controul—they will overflow their feeble banks—they will bear down all opposition—and the violence of the deluge will risk the security of your whole establishment." Such were, and such would ever continue to be, his sentiments.

The second proposition was, "whether some intermediate course might not be adopted, between his Lordship's first, of leaving every thing as it now was," and his third, "whether or not, supposing the East-India Company refused to continue their functions, on the terms which would be proposed, some new instrument might not be formed, sufficient for every purpose which this country might require in the government of India?" "If, unhappily," said his Lordship, (and he (Mr. Jackson) reiterated the expression, for *unhappily* indeed it would be!) "the India Company should find it contrary to their interest, or against their inclinations, to continue the government of India, some other mode may be devised, to supersede them in those functions." But the noble Lord avoided even a hint as to the nature of the system which would be pursued, under the third proposition; from a feeling, perhaps, in which he (Mr. Jackson) warmly parti-

cipated, that the necessity for such an attempt would never occur; and, he was sure, there was not a member of the Court who did not cherish a similar hope. All the noble Lord said on that part of the subject was, that he differed from those who thought such an alteration difficult or impossible.—Now, with all deference to the abilities of the noble Lord, he (Mr. Jackson) concurred in opinion with those who looked upon the thing as impossible; and he dissented most completely from the noble Lord in considering such a change feasible. He did most conscientiously believe, that it was impossible to effect such a change, consistently with the interests of the country. He would now consider the intermediate proposition, which was of primary importance to the Company; and, having considered it, he would take the liberty of examining three or four statements of the noble Lord, on which he bottomed his view of the second question. Now, if he could prove, which he trusted he should be enabled to do, that those statements were inaccurate, it must, of course, affect the proposition purporting to be founded upon them. In taking this view of the subject, he wished to speak of the noble Lord with the highest possible respect. He believed, that it must have given sensible pleasure to the House of Commons,

to observe the complimentary manner in which the noble Lord deported himself towards this great Company ; because he (Mr. Jackson) knew, that a strong opinion did exist in the mind of the public, that, in the negociation between His Majesty's Ministers and the East-India Company, a sort of private pique, a feeling of personal resentment, had entered into the minds of individuals of very great respectability, who were concerned in the discussion of this momentous question. If such feelings were permitted, he would not hesitate to say, that they were unbecoming the enlightened minds of statesmen, and were very unfairly indulged towards the Company, whose great anxiety had evidently been, to conduct themselves with the utmost respect towards the higher authorities of the state—and it was but justice to the Proprietors to say, that, from the first hour of the negociation, up to the time at which he had the honour of addressing them, they had divested themselves of all narrow and contracted feelings—they were not influenced by any consideration of the trumpery dividend upon their stock, which would not, perhaps, make a difference of £50 to any gentleman who heard him—they were actuated by more noble, more enlarged views—and he would not do them justice, who should hesitate to de-

clare, that the whole of their debates, the whole of their discussions, had been conducted with the national feelings of British citizens—with the feelings of citizens of a great Empire—looking to the general welfare of the state, and contemning all base and selfish suggestions of private interest.—(*Hear! hear!*!)—Nay, what was more, he would venture to say, for the members of that Court, in general, as well as for himself, that, if any party detected them in such mean and narrow feelings, they would be willing to sink beneath a load of contempt.—If the public saw them contending on such narrow grounds, let them disclaim the Company—let them condemn their cause—let them cease to respect the arguments adduced in their favour. However well-founded those arguments might be, let them be considered as the reasonings of men, who had a private interest to promote,—however strong and powerful they might be, still let them be contemplated as proceeding from sordid and selfish motives—and, therefore, divested of that weight and authority, which, under other circumstances, would be justly due to them. When the public should find them in that degraded situation, he (Mr. Jackson) would consent, that all they had spoken, and all they had published, should be blotted from remembrance, and that they should be treated

as persons, whose ideas were mean and grovelling, confined and local.

Before he proceeded to examine the second proposition, he thought it would be proper to notice the third resolution proposed by the noble Lord, and which, by the desire of their worthy Chairman, had been read a second time. The noble Lord had, in the most explicit and candid manner, declared, at once, what it was the intention of Government to do. His Lordship's speech did seem to him (Mr. Jackson) the speech of a British gentleman, proceeding from a clear head and a very honest heart—and he was sure the noble Lord would be rather *pleased* than *offended* with any observations which that speech might give rise to in the Court. For, in the outset of his speech he stated, that it was very likely His Majesty's Ministers, with the best intentions and the most honest purpose, might still fall short, in the opinion of those who had so much more experience in the affairs of the Indian empire than themselves, in proposing a plan calculated to meet all the exigencies of the case—and he fairly stated, that if any principle of action were proposed, by which the difficulties might be removed, he would most cheerfully listen to it.—Thus encouraged, he (Mr. Jackson) would make a few observations on some of his Lordship's propo-

sitions, which appeared to be founded on error; and which, he trusted, would meet the ears of his, the noble Lord's auditors, before they completely made up their minds on a subject of so much interest.

It would have been singular, after the eulogium which the noble Lord had pronounced on the Company, if he had not followed it up by such a proposition as that with which the series of Resolutions commenced,—“ That it is expedient “ that all the privileges, authorities, and im- “ munities, granted to the United Company of “ Merchants of England trading to the East “ Indies, by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parlia- “ ment now in force, and all rules, regulations, “ and clauses affecting the same, shall continue “ and be in force for the farther term of twenty “ years, except as far as the same may herein- “ after be modified and repealed.” — And it would have been no less extraordinary, if the *Army* and the *China Trade*, as expressed in subsequent Resolutions, were not continued with the Company; for those who had read the correspondence attentively, could never conceive that it was the intention of Government to take away the Army and the China Trade. Indeed, there would have been no consistency, in talking of preserving the Company, at the same time

that they were bent upon taking that away, by which alone it was enabled to exist. It would have been a *solecism* in language; and he did not believe that either the one or the other was seriously meant to be done, provided it was really intended that the East India Company should still remain. That it was so intended, was clear; for his Lordship had declared, the great interests of the country imperatively demanded that the Indian government should exist—and that it should exist through the administration of the Company—for which purpose it was necessary that the Army and the China Trade should be preserved to them. But here arose an observation, which, by and by, it would be absolutely necessary for them to consider. Because, to say that the Company should possess a privilege, without leaving them the complete and perfect means of enjoying it, was falling into that sort of error, which the noble Lord had imputed to the Company, with respect to those merchants who desired to have a part of our trade.—If, therefore, it was intended to keep the China Trade perfect and entire, would it be proper to permit ships to proceed to all the Eastern Isles, and to enter the very mouth of the river of Canton? He had all along said, if this were the arrangement, that it was giving the Company the trade *in name* only, and not

in fact, that it was professing to concede to them the China trade, but accompanying it with such facilities for illicit traffick, as would render the advantageous enjoyment of it impossible.—(*Hear ! hear !*)—He had little doubt of proving, in the course of his speech, that it would be impossible to preserve the China trade, which was of so much importance to the Company and to the State, unless proper restrictions were introduced.—And, should his argument be successful, it was to be hoped, that Ministers would limit or alter the extent of permission to the Private Trader, so as not to affect the China trade, which his Lordship had been pleased to denominate a boon to the Company; and which, in another place, he stated, should not be altered, unless strong and urgent necessity were shewn for that purpose—unless it were made manifest, that the extension would be beneficial to the country at large, and that the safety of our Indian territories and of the revenue were not likely to be affected by it.—Now, if he could shew, that the indiscriminate access to the Eastern empire, which would be admitted by the proposed extension, was inconsistent with that safety, he conceived it would not be doing justice to the candour and frankness evinced by the noble Lord, if they did not conclude that his Lordship would agree to every necessary alteration,

The noble Lord had spoken of a sort of security against those dangers—not merely by an application of the **Manifest** **Act**, in places where **manifests** were never heard of—not merely by the introduction of revenue officers throughout the whole range of the **Eastern Archipelago**, by which the national revenues would be swallowed up—(which latter point was a matter of detail, that, in due time, would answer itself)—“but,” says the noble Lord, (by way of security to the **East-India Company**) “the interest of the **Company** is most closely connected with that of the country—what is *income* to them, is *revenue* to us—when one is increased or diminished so is the other—we, therefore, are as deeply interested in the matter as you are—and the **Government** and the **Company** must naturally go so hand-in-hand; it is therefore extravagant to think we should suffer any circumstance to impair an income, which is absolutely necessary for the vital interests of the **State**.” In answer to this, he (Mr. Jackson) would ask, what would the **Government** do,—what could they do,—when the unlimited access to the **Eastern** trade had established a system, which was above their control?—(*Hear! hear!*)—It would be then too late to say to the **East-India Company**, “we have as quick, as sensible, as vital feelings, for the prosperity of the *revenue*

as you have for the security of your *income!*"—for, when once this extension was allowed,—when once those facilities were granted, it would be as much above the power of the Government as of the East-India Company, to remedy the evil.—(*Hear! hear!*)—Government might then rightly estimate and form very accurate calculations of the loss—but to put an end to the mischief would exceed their utmost ability—therefore, unless, at some future period of this discussion, the noble Lord could place, beyond all sober apprehension, the perfect security and complete existence of the China Trade, before any other step was taken—unless he could shew the Legislature, and the House of Commons in particular, that the description of access to which he had referred, would not endanger the power and revenue of the country, beyond the authority of Ministers to check its ruinous effects—unless he could do this, he would not have performed so much as that House of Commons had a right to expect and to demand, before they were satisfied of the wisdom of his measure. They ought to say, "We cannot grant what you desire, unless you demonstrate, that, if evil consequences are likely to ensue, you will be able to prevent them."—(*Hear! hear!*) He knew that the private trader would not be admitted to go to

China for any article—but he also knew, that they might assort their cargoes with any Chinese productions, *tea* only excepted. This liberty was about to be conceded by those who must be perfectly aware, that the numerous islands in the Eastern Sea would be the place to which the private traders would resort for the purpose of procuring Chinese cargoes. And thus it was left to the common sense of every person to decide on the probable course which would be pursued. Here was a large body of men, possessing a most enterprising spirit, and having the command of capital, by which that spirit would be enabled to exert itself. These men proceeded to the Eastern Islands, nay, they visited the whole coast, for an assortment of articles. Under these circumstances, he would ask any man, whether it was not likely that an illicit trade would be carried on; and that great part of their cargoes, in point of value at least, would be Tea? Eight or ten pounds of that article could be contained in the paper which he held in his hand; and, by such a traffic the duty of 95 per cent. would be saved. Yet the noble Lord himself allowed, that if this illegal trade, the temptation to which was immense, could not be prevented, it would be dangerous to the interests of the Company, and no less

so to those of the empire.—(*Hear! hear!*) He must be a confident minister indeed, if he supposed that smuggling of this profitable description *could* be prevented. Smuggling did he call it? That was too mild a term—it was robbery—robbery of income and of revenue! And, unless the noble Lord had nerves more firm than any man who loved his country as he (Mr. Jackson) did, he could not contemplate even the possibility of such evils, without shuddering.—(*Hear! hear!*) Government might depend on the Report of the Commissioners of Customs, who thought those mischiefs impossible to be averted, and that the indiscriminate access to India must produce danger—he protested therefore against the granting the China trade, in name, when, by the license which accompanied it, it was not conceded in fact. The Court must see the necessity of laying before His Majesty's Government, more information, and more argument on the question, if more could be laid before them; and better, if, indeed better could be produced. The only course left for them was to bring forward evidence at the bar of the House; but they must not run away with the false idea, that the China trade was conceded to them, perfect and entire. If there were any thing like reality in his apprehensions,

the China trade, as he had before observed, would be theirs only in name, but not in fact.—
(*Hear! hear!*)

The noble Lord he said proceeded to state, that His Majesty's Ministers continued most firm and decided in their opinion, that the *exports* should be from every port of the United Kingdom, to every port and every place on the continent of India (Canton excepted), within the limits of the Company's charter, and he seemed to have no doubt but that the right of import should be equally extensive.—As to the *imports*, his Lordship observed, if there were fifty ports to which they could be admitted, so much the better, as soon as such ports had satisfied His Majesty's Privy Council, that they were provided with docks and warehouses, where the goods might be bonded, consistently with the safety of the revenue.—Therefore, all the evils of which the Company had complained—all the evils which their Directors had so unanimously and so eloquently stated—and the truth of which, after so much deliberation, the Court had concurred in confirming; all those evils continued to be threatened, in the broadest and most unqualified manner. If they had stated their apprehensions, that the extending the trade to India would be dangerous—the evil still remained. If they contended, that this

mutilated commerce would leave them but with the name of the China trade—that source of complaint still existed—and even in a more aggravated degree;—for he recollects, a very few months back, it was not contemplated to grant the liberty of importing India produce to more than four or five ports of the United Kingdom, which were named as the best, although exemplified as very bad, by the commissioners; but now, that principle was abandoned—and the liberty was to be extended to every port, which His Majesty's Privy Council might deem proper. These were the dangers which threatened their existence—these were the dangers which they were called upon, in justice to themselves and to their country, to encounter—and such was their situation, that they must even “fight upon their stumps,” in opposition to them. But he did not despair, because he thought many of the grounds on which the noble Lord had founded his views of the question, would fail him, when the argument came on in the House of Commons. One point on which he thought the noble Lord would not succeed in bringing his auditors over to his opinion, was that respecting the danger to be dreaded from the access of strangers to India. The noble Lord said, “I do not apprehend that danger from indiscriminate access which the East-India Company

seem to fear. And why am I callous to those fears, which were confessed, under the signature of His Majesty's Ministers, up to a certain period? why do I not feel them? Because the Directors of the East-India Company themselves have conceded the export trade,—they have conceded that all the individuals of the United Kingdom should be at liberty to export goods to India, through the medium of their own vessels, without limit or restraint from the Company; consequently, from their having agreed to such a proposition, they could have no fears of any evil resulting from this indiscriminate access."

Now, he would ask, was this a true, or just, or correct reason? In the first place, those who had read the correspondence between the Court of Directors and His Majesty's Ministers, would find that the former set out with deprecating all the evils which they apprehended from indiscriminate access; they stated their fears that intrigue would take place and faction be likely to break out in the Indian territory, in consequence of the free admission of Europeans. This was a fear inseparable from a knowledge of that intellectual activity and enterprise which characterised his countrymen; it was an apprehension which justly arose from a contemplation of that ardent love of liberty,

which, though sublime in its proper sphere, was most dangerous, if misapplied by those who might wish to introduce, what they conceived to be freedom and the rights of man, amongst persons living under a very different system; they had deprecated, in the strongest terms, the mischiefs which such an innovation must inevitably produce. Lord Melville, in his answer to those remonstrances, had said, in substance—" If this be the case, if the British merchant shall not be permitted to export goods in his own ships to India, it is in vain that we meet. Part of your letter turns on a very important point, the amount of your debt, and the pecuniary aid you require; but I will not meet you even on this subject, as it is in vain for us to communicate on any general proposition, with regard to India, unless you are prepared to agree to the terms which have been stated; and I tell you candidly and fairly, His Majesty's Ministers will not recommend to Parliament a renewal of your Charter, unless you concede the points demanded." The Hon. Chairman and Deputy Chairman, who then conducted the negotiation, in a masterly paper, founded in a perfect conception of the subject, the result of long study and experience, and couched in language highly respectful; a paper, which he (Mr. Jackson) felt very great happiness in reading, as it was, in truth, a master-piece of its kind—

answered the letter of Lord Melville. "If," said they, "your Lordship will not treat with us on any other preliminaries, but the allowing an export trade in the ships of the private merchant, we must agree. — Although, to shew your Lordship how willing the Company has been to increase that trade to any useful extent, it may not be improper to state, that of three thousand tons of shipping annually provided for the private merchants, scarcely one-third has been used. Having observed thus much, it would be rude to fence about the matter farther—you drive us to a conclusion against our better judgment. But, as many subjects of great importance to the Company (particularly their pecuniary arrangements) await our acquiescence, we give our reluctant assent to this hard bargain." But, in justification of the Directors, and he (Mr. Jackson) hoped the fact would be made known to every member of the House of Commons, all those dangers which the Company deprecated, all those evils which were foreseen in an early part of the discussion, and which were repeatedly pressed on the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, continued to occupy the minds of those who conducted the Company's affairs; although, through necessity, they yielded to the strong power of Ministers. [The learned gentleman here read a copious extract from the letter of the

Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, of the 4th of March 1812, in answer to Lord Melville's specific proposition of the 17th Dec. 1811, that the "ships as well as goods of private merchants should be admitted into the trade with India."—In this they state, that they will, though with great reluctance, lay the proposition before the Court of Proprietors—they again express their conviction of the danger to be apprehended from this course both to the Company and the public, and refer to the arguments contained in their letter of the 13th of January, 1809.]

These, continued Mr. Jackson, were the sentiments of a forced agreement procured under a threat of non-intercourse, and it was not a little worthy of remark, that, even at this time, not a word was said by Ministers on the necessity of admitting the *import* trade to the Outports. Even in the observation upon the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors, which was made at a subsequent period, *viz.* 21st March, 1812, the *imports* were still to be confined to the Port of London. Nor was it till the same date that Ministers expressed their intention, that "the ships of private traders should clear out from other ports of the United Kingdom, besides the Port of London." Now, it did seem to him almost impossible to argue, from a concession so very

limited as that which he had stated, that the *Directors themselves*, as Lord Castlereagh asserted, had removed every apprehension of individual access, by allowing the *export* trade to India to be extended—their language being, “that it was a reluctant consent, only obtained by an assurance on the part of His Majesty’s Ministers, that they would not agree to recommend the renewal of the Company’s Charter without a concession of this point.”—What do the Directors say?—“We do not consent—we will submit the question to the Court of Proprietors. We, at the same time, again state all the dangers to which we apprehend the measure will give birth; and we cast upon you the difficulty of discovering some adequate mode of prevention.” This was the plain meaning of the language which they held. Without, therefore, going into the merits of the question of unlimited exportation, it was of great importance that the public should be made acquainted with this fact, that the Company never ceased to apprehend the most extensive dangers from such an alteration, and that they repeated every one of them, whenever an opportunity occurred, with the most conscientious conviction of their being well-founded;—so that it was impossible for Government to believe that they ever abandoned their original apprehensions.

This fact was further proved, by the conduct which was observed in respect to the sixth proposition of the Court of Directors. It would be remembered, that the Court submitted certain propositions to the Government, as the basis for the renewal of the Charter. Of these the sixth was: "That the whole of the India trade should be brought to the port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales," &c. The answer to which was a full assent. While the first hint in direct contradiction to the eighth proposition was to be found in Lord Melville's letter of the 21st of March, in which he observed, that he was not convinced of any reason for limiting the exports to the port of London. To which it was answered, that no sufficient reason had been offered to warrant the departure from that principle. This took place in March, 1812. Therefore, he contended, on the part of the Court of Directors, that when Lord Castlereagh asserted the Company to have abated one jot of their original apprehensions, he had completely misstated them. And every member of the House of Commons, who gave a vote on the suggestion, that the Company themselves entertained no fears on the subject of the projected alterations—they who certainly might be considered the most competent authority on the question,—such member acted on a wrong presumption, and proceeded upon a mistaken foundation.

There were some other points in his Lordship's speech, which equally demanded observation. The noble Lord proceeded to state certain reasons for the alteration which he contemplated ; some of which were just as much misstated as that which he had already noticed. He observed, that it was wholly unreasonable that the present trade to India, comprising nearly one half of the habitable globe, should be carried on by the limited capital of the East-India Company, and that of foreigners. Much had been said of the extended allowances given to foreigners. He (Mr. Jackson) had always expressed his hope, that when the Charter should be renewed, it would be to an *English*, and not an *American*, East-India Company. (*Hear! hear!*) He was one of the number who lamented, when those privileges were granted to the Americans ; because he considered them as directly operating against the navigation laws, which, he was old-fashioned enough to think, in preference to the new theories and systems that were springing up around them, were, in fact, the very staff of our maritime existence. (*Hear!*) A relaxation from those privileges, he considered as the means of teaching the Americans to beat us ; but, whatever evils it had produced, could not be charged to the East-India Company. The acts by which they

were allowed did not proceed from them ; they came from the west end of the town, the result of all the wisdom and experience on Indian affairs which was collected there ; and the Company were obliged to comply with them. (*Hear ! hear !*) When this was the case, he was astonished that the noble Lord, possessing so much candour and fairness, should allege against the Company, the granting of this trade to foreigners, knowing, as he must, that it was imputable to the Government, and not to them. Neither should he have forgotten, that, however objectionable in other points the foreign trade might be, it had brought immense quantities of bullion into India, where it was imperatively required. He wished, however, that this trade should be transferred to the hands of the British merchant, but through a wholesome and legitimate channel. He had always contended, that whenever the industry, and management, and care, and capital, of the East-India Company should fail to extend the trade to its utmost limits, and he still held the same opinion, that the next preference should be given to the merchant who walked the Royal Exchange, and not to foreigners. He never would stand up in that Court, or elsewhere, to argue against permitting the British subject to participate in that trade ; all he maintained was, that it should be

carried on through that medium which the Legislatures had experienced it could controul, and not through channels, which, he foresaw, they never could govern. His Lordship had observed, which was one of his *ad captandum* arguments, that the private-trade to India was almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. How could his Lordship reason in that way, with a paper in his hand, shewing that the private and privileged British trade had increased in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000 per annum? And that, since the commencement of the present Charter, it had amounted to the sum of £33,000,000. Was this trade carried on by the capital of foreigners? So far, therefore, there was a misstatement; and he trusted the House of Commons would be convinced of it. What! no capital but that of the Company and of foreigners, when no less than £33,000,000, independent of bullion, had been returned in the British privileged and private-trade, within the last twenty years? (*Hear! hear!*)

His Lordship said, "The Company have asserted, that they have extended their commerce to India, as far as possible; but I, differing from them, having at heart the interest of the country at large, think they have not; and, therefore, the public ought to be admitted to try what can be affected by their exertions."

Surely this was begging the question. Have the Company said, at any one period, that they had extended their trade to the utmost? Did not he (Mr. Jackson) say, in answer to a gentleman near him (Mr. Hume) that the privileged import trade had increased, in a few years, from £180,000 to £1,200,000? He had always stated the possibility of increase, with this difference from those who were the advocates of *speculation* and *theory*, that it should be a gradual, regular, progressive increase—not a sudden, adventitious increase, followed by a depression no less sudden. The Company had said, and all experience had shewn, that the former was the only wise and beneficial increase; and every thing which could tend to produce that increase of the trade, the Company had expressed themselves willing to do, and in fact had done. The candour of the noble Lord would, he hoped, admit, that this charge, with respect to the China trade, was equally erroneous. To prove the elasticity of trade, (a principle which he always allowed, only premising that it should be conducted through a proper channel), it had been observed by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume), that according to the statements of the Directors, the commerce with China never could exceed 5 or £600,000 per annum, but yet it had latterly gone infinitely beyond that sum.

And he had asked, if the Directors had been taken at their word at that time, what would they have said, when they saw the trade exceeding £1,500,000? This again was begging the question. The Directors had never expressed the opinion which was attributed to them; and it was a fact which could not be shaken, that, at the very time it was imputed to them, that they did not think the China trade could be farther improved, the Company had fitted out one of the most expensive embassies ever dispatched from this country, for the purpose of endeavouring to accomplish that, which they were most unjustly described as having considered impossible.—(*Hear! hear!*) On a former day, he had put a question on this subject to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hume),—a question, which if he had had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons, he certainly would have stated as strongly and forcibly as possible. He had asked, supposing, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed it impossible to increase the trade to China beyond £600,000 a year, (an assertion which they never did make—for they had always acted on the presumption of an increase, and used every endeavour to promote it;—a grateful nation, amongst other benefits, would never forget, though ignorance or prejudice might,

that, for many years, the Company exported, at an immense loss, articles of British manufacture, merely for the purpose of assisting the manufacturers of this country—a noble trait of liberality, which could only be found in great bodies, like the East-India Company, and could not be expected either from the inclination or capacity of individuals);—supposing, then, at the time it was imputed to the Company, that they believed the exports to China could not be farther increased, the gentlemen from Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, (he now spoke of the sober petitioners only) had procured access to Ministers, persuaded them that the trade was capable a vast increase, and that they had been permitted to proceed to China, in the same way as they were at present about to be permitted to go to India; he asked his honorable friend (Mr. Hume) as well as the forms of debate would allow him—of him who had resided long in India—who had paid great attention to the affairs of that country, and who had procured a vast deal of useful information—he had asked him, as a man of honor and a gentleman, did he think, if such permission to proceed to China had been granted, that the China trade would have existed at the present day? His honorable friend had answered, “he believed it would not.”

The conduct of the adventurers would have destroyed it;—the use made of such a privilege must have annihilated it. This was a very honorable and a very honest admission, but no more than what he had a right to expect from the candour of his honorable friend; and, he trusted, it would be pressed, in its proper place, as a point of great importance.

The noble Lord asserted, that the *only* way of extending the trade to India, was by throwing it open. This really was the broad hardship of which the Company had to complain, that their sentiments on the subject had not been stated. *All parties* concurred in the desire of extending the trade; and it was with some surprise, and much regret, he observed that, throughout the whole of the noble Lord's arguments, he did not even hint at any alteration or modification, for the purpose of progressively and safely enlarging the trade to India—No: his only remedy was what he called “opening of it.” Now, was it not incumbent on the noble Lord, and was it not incumbent on His Majesty's Ministers, before they made such a proposition, to prove, that *all* the trade which it was possible, not to *expect*, but to *have*, could not be embraced through the East-India Company, be kept within the limits and capacity of their control? It was said, difficulties had been thrown in the way of the private adventurers, which ought

not to exist. For argument sake, be it so;—let them be removed.

There was also an argument of affection and kindness sometimes made use of:—“you lose by the trade; you are at a great expense, annually, in providing 3,000 tons of shipping, for individuals, who do not thank you for it; you may easily be lightened from this charge.”—Be it so—let the private trader freight his own ship—choose his own agent—select his own medium—by this means the Company would be freed from the expense. But it was a little singular to say, provided the merchant used his own ship, and selected his own medium of trade, that there was no other way of extending the commerce of India, but by throwing it unrestrictedly open. On that point, the Company and the government were at issue: and, he trusted, that such evidence would be produced before the House of Commons, as would shew a perfect capacity of extending the trade to India, supposing it to be capable of extension, *bona fide*, and without shackles, and, at the same time, preventing those dangers which were apprehended. He spoke of real and decided means for the extension of the trade, if the thing were possible—for he agreed that it would be most improper

“ To keep the word of promise to the ear,

“ And break it to the heart ! ”

If private adventurers were to be admitted, in their own ships, he thought it should be to the fullest extent. But when the noble Lord said this could only be by opening the trade from every port to every port, he (Mr. Jackson) besought him to suspend his judgment, till the Company had an opportunity of shewing, that it could be extended as occasion might require, and, at the same time, retain its original channel. The reason the noble Lord gave for thus opening the trade, did not appear to him to be quite correct nor candid. He asserted, that the capital of the East-India Company was not equal to an increase of its trade. But the fact was not as it had been stated—the Company were equal to what they undertook—and, on this point, the statement made, on that day, by the hon. Chairman, was deserving of particular notice. "Let the commercial capital of the Company be appropriated to commercial purposes, and it is perfectly sufficient. But, if you, *the State*, having a control over our funds, command us to divert them to other pursuits—though they may be the means of supporting your pride and glory—though they may enable you, the House of Commons, to exclaim, "behold the mighty empire we possess!" still, undoubtedly, in a commercial point of view, we are injured by this diversion of our

revenue." The State, however, had no right to turn round on the Company and say, "you have performed great achievements for your country, but they have swallowed up those funds which should have been devoted to commerce; that commerce, therefore, must be taken from you." The Company might answer such ingratitude thus:—"cease to divert our commercial capital to political purposes, and it will be amply sufficient. If our trade is then narrowed, reproach us with it; but do not divest our funds, and afterwards accuse us with that which yourselves have occasioned." (*Hear! hear!*)

This part of his argument the noble Lord endeavoured to illustrate by what he called a reference to fact, which, however, failed him. He stated, as a proof of the Company's want of capital, that they had been obliged to resort to the money market of India, where they borrowed at 12 per cent, not for political, but for commercial, purposes. Some of the money which was procured, Mr. Jackson admitted, might have been employed, *eo nomine*, to increase investments. —But how was this occasioned? Because a part of the money, primarily intended for investments, *was* diverted, by superior orders, to political purposes. "The state compels you to divest part of your territorial revenues; and because you borrow

money to supply the deficiency thus created, it is directed against you as a reproach!—(*Hear! hear!*)—It is certainly true, in fact; because you applied the sums, originally intended for investments, to the support of armies in the field, and other warlike purposes, that you have made good the deficit by loans. And, therefore, it is argued, that you have borrowed money for commercial purposes, and an *ergo* follows, that you have not capital enough to carry on your commerce.”—(*Hear! hear!*) But he was not without hope, from the candour of the noble Lord's disposition, that he would see the fact in its true light, and become convinced of the injustice which was done to the Company.

The noble Lord, in a most constitutional manner, and in the very spirit of all that had been said, by Lord Melville, Mr. Pitt, and other great and eminent patriots, and in opposition to a variety of intimations which had been held out *in terrorem*, admitted that, in a certain point of view, it was necessary and expedient that the patronage of India should remain with the Company. He did not think it a safe deposit to be entrusted with any administration; and he broadly stated this as a reason for placing the patronage abroad, in the hands of those who had always made so just a use of it.—(*Hear! hear!*) Now when the Court recollects, that, in one of

the letters transmitted to the President of the Board of Controul this very point was touched upon; when it was recollected, that the reasoning adduced in that letter (to shew the danger which would probably result to the constitution, if the patronage of India was not suffered to remain with the Company) was treated with the most bitter sarcasm; when it was satirically observed by the nobleman, with whom they were in correspondence, "that it was very kind in them (the East-India Company) to interfere for the safety and protection of the constitution, but that even, should the Company cease to exist, the constitution would still go on;" or words to that effect, for something like this might, he believed, be found, in the answer of the noble Lord;—although the Directors were not giving any sentiments of their own, but literally quoting those of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, and stating their coincidence in that opinion;—under these circumstances, it must be highly gratifying to them to see Lord Castlereagh coming forward, and, by his constitutional and patriotic declaration, saying "that the patronage of India, and the liberties of England, would not be consistent with each other, if the same persons presided over both," clearly proving the misapplication of those sarcastic remarks—
(*Hear! hear!*)

His Lordship had observed, that very great modification would still be necessary.—To this the Company had no objection. They agreed to as large and as liberal a modification as could be consistently required; all they demanded was, to preserve the channel through which the trade had so long and so beneficially flowed. Now it might be supposed, that he (Mr. Jackson) wished it to be confined to that medium, for the purpose of deriving the profit of some two or three hundred thousand pounds a year from it:—but it was not so.—And here the noble Lord furnished him with an argument—an argument founded on the wisdom and experience of all the eminent men who had been employed in India—an argument, which, while it shewed the necessity of continuing the trade in its present channel, fully developed the dangers which the Company dreaded. He might state the argument boldly in that Court, without apprehending the mischief, which, were it less familiar, it would perhaps produce, if it reached the ears of an Indian chieftain—he meant the maxim that “*the empire of India, is dependent upon opinion.*” It is a government, by which, as was very justly observed in the House of Commons, 1600 persons ruled over from 50 to 60,000,000. It was true, the Company possessed an army, never exceeded for loyalty or

courage—never excelled for any quality which a general could desire in his troops, or a country hope for in its defenders—(*Hear! hear!*)—but still the government of India was a government of opinion! — Let him, then, who believed it to be a government of opinion, lay his hand upon his heart, and ask himself, if the detracting from the dignity of the East-India Company, by taking away that commerce by which its greatness was upheld, would not so lower the *opinion* of its firmness, stability, and power, in the eyes of the natives of India, as to endanger the safety and security of our eastern empire?—(*Hear! hear!*)—Was it likely, when the natives of that country saw an indiscriminate host of traders coming to deal amongst them, that they would retain their present respect for our character? Would they not contrast the meanness of all they saw with the splendour which once shone around the East-India Company? Would they not lose that feeling of veneration, the great engine of authority, when they saw that that authority no longer existed in the Company — when they no longer beheld in them the advancers of money, the anticipating purchasers of their manufactures, the upholders of fair and liberal prices from their two-fold character, of sovereign

and merchant,—the dispensers of innumerable blessings, the promoters of comfort, the undeviating advocates of justice? With the information which they would soon possess upon the whole of this subject, was it to be supposed that they would continue to preserve the same ideas of the Company's grandeur and munificence which they now manifested? If they did not, then, *ergo*, the government of the Company, this government of opinion, must inevitably fall.—That government, the very existence of which was then threatened, supplied an annual revenue to the country of about £4,500,000. It was, (continued the learned Gentleman,) a mistake in the paper which he held in his hand which stated it at £3,500,000—it was one of those misprints, which should be properly corrected and rightly understood by the public. When they (*the public*) knew the wonderful stake which they had in the existence of the East-India Company—when they saw a sum, not of £3,500,000, but of almost £4,500,000, confessedly put in peril,—they ought to know exactly what advantage they were likely to derive from the risk. When they saw such a sum placed in jeopardy, to satisfy those who did not even affect to possess any experience—to support their suggestions—they ought not to be influenced by the plausibility of their doctrines, or the artfulness of their reason-

ing.—Let them contemplate the Company, pouring their extensive wealth into the coffers of the state:—let them view that great body emptying this immense *cornucopia* into the treasury of the country, almost without an effort on the part of the Government:—let them do this, and they would then easily decide between the Company and their accusers—(*Hear! hear!*).—Another reason which had been adduced by the noble Lord to support the necessity of throwing open the trade, was, the possibility of a great Company growing too large for its original and particular powers. He thought none of those whom he addressed could have any other feeling, but that the mighty empire, which the noble Lord feared, would grow too great and powerful, and must moulder under the regulations proposed by him.

But when his Lordship argued, that the East India Company was growing too large for itself; that its commerce, as well as its internal arrangements, were become too bulky for its own welfare, and that any increase of commerce would aggravate the evil thus complained of, he must beg to deny that proposition: for, in answer to this mistaken idea, he would refer his Lordship to the best of all authorities,—to the reports and representations of the executive body. Let the noble Lord call before him the Company's officers and the Direc-

tors, and he (Mr. Jackson) would risk the whole question upon the result of his enquiry from them, whether, since the private and privilege trade of the Company had increased, in a ratio of from £180,000 to about £3,000,000 per annum, the alarm had not completely failed, and that in the same proportion was the ability of the Company to manage their affairs shown to be strengthened and increased. He would rest the whole question upon this examination. For his own part, he hesitated not to state, that since its trade had increased and its commercial relations extended, the whole system of regulation had not merely improved but flourished: indeed, he would only refer to an honorable gentleman near him (Mr. Hume), whose statements upon the subject he was happy to acknowledge to be not only correct, but highly important, for the confirmation of what he advanced. Surely then, the noble Lord would not put his mistaken authority, and perhaps erroneous information, in competition with the judges upon the subject; judges who would inform him, that the policy adopted by the East India Company was such, that as their affairs became multifarious, so regularity and arrangement had enabled them to make the true advantage of every accession to their establishment. The excellence of the system adopted by the Company

was such, that while it was well contrived it was as well executed. Why, then, if it was allowed that when their commerce was infinitely increased, with the extension of their territorial boundaries; if the same wisdom and salutary arrangement in their affairs had followed the ratio of their increased property; who was the man that would say, judging from experience, that the Company's affairs were becoming too extensive, and too large for their own weight? It would be unnecessary for him to point out the arrangement adopted for the increase of the trade and commerce of the Company. Sufficient it was to observe that docks, wharfs, warehouses, and every convenience had been erected, to meet the exigencies of an increasing and flourishing system. The argument, therefore, would follow, if the opinions of those who thought like his Lordship were adopted,—that although, to a certain extent, the Company's affairs had become better and better, yet if they went farther, they would grow worse and worse. (*Hear! hear!*)

The noble Lord had said that there was great necessity for retrenchment in the Company's expences. He, himself, for one, had no doubt of its necessity. He knew it had been reiterated, from the side of the bar at which he addressed the Court, as an argument that would be likely to

have weight with Ministers, that there must be great retrenchment.—Be it so. He was satisfied that there was no objection on the part of the Company; on the contrary, there was a most anxious wish on their part to adopt every measure calculated to reduce their expences, as far as consistent with the real interests of the Company. They would never (he was persuaded) allow such an argument as this to remain in the hands of Government for refusing them their assistance. He knew the Company to be serious in their intentions in this respect; because recent accounts had shewn, that the executive Government had introduced the most wholesome and politic regulations; and they had, in a great degree, perhaps in a wonderful degree, accomplished this desirable object. Though aware, as he was, of the expensive political arrangements which had taken place, yet by the Company's last accounts of their surplus fund, when it was not expected to be more than *half* a million, it amounted to *one million and a half*. The work, therefore, of economical arrangement having begun in so surprising a manner, to the advantage of the Country and the Company, he only invited them most earnestly, to carry the principle into execution, as far as a reference to the liberal and wholesome support of their establishments.

would honorably and advantageously allow.—Indeed, such a suggestion was unnecessary, when it was recollected *who* were the honorable persons at the head of affairs and had the conducting of their internal arrangements. Principles of sound policy as well as of justice would dictate to *them* a course of conduct upon which, they knew, must depend the strength, the welfare, and the stability of the Indian Empire.

There was another point in the noble Lord's resolutions he should advert to, or rather merely mention, that it might not be said he either passed it over or that he committed himself upon it. The point he alluded to, was upon the subject of Religion. It was intended by these resolutions to have a Bishop and three Archdeacons introduced into the establishment in India. If he knew any thing of his own way of feeling, no man was more desirous than he was, that every Christian should have means of adoring his God, according to the principles that he professed, and according to the faith that he might have been instructed in. No man in that Court, he had no hesitation in saying, felt more than he did, the impolicy as well as the injustice of a rash and improvident introduction of spiritual teachers among the nations of the East. But, at the same time, if he knew himself, no man would more sincerely rejoice over an igno-

rant Pagan brought from the darkness of his superstition into the light of Christianity than he would; because he knew that such a change would give him happiness here and secure eternal blessings to him hereafter. It would be inconsistent with all those ordinary feelings of humanity, with the philanthropy which he was sure had always distinguished the Company in every stage, and in every step of its policy, if (always avoiding the rash progress of intemperate zeal) they did not wish to promote the interests of true Religion; and, if he knew any thing of the history of the Company, it had shewn that there was always a disposition, on the part of the executive Government, to extend the blessings of divine truth wherever they would be received in India; and he still hoped that the same spirit would actuate the conduct of the future Government of that country, which had characterized the present and former Governments, with so much pious and christian feeling. He was quite satisfied there was a proper disposition in the Company to pay every degree of deference and respect to the hierarchy and the *system of church government* in this country: but, at the same time, every man knew that there was a natural disposition in mankind to aspire to place, to power, and to authority. The Company, and all men, had seen

that even the *Clergy* were not exempt from that feeling, in this country; and that they sought after those dispensations of the Government under which we lived. It must be obvious, that it would be difficult, in the present state of the world, to preserve spiritual humility uninfluenced by temporal ambition: and any man of common sense must see the same disposition which marked the Clergy at home must adhere to them abroad. He felt every disposition in the world, to pay due honor and reverence to the hierarchy and clergy of this country; but when he understood it was intended to introduce a Bishop and three Archdeacons into India, he thought he should not discharge his duty as an honest man, if he did not say that it was a matter which deserved the most serious consideration. His present impressions were, that it was highly necessary to the welfare of a state to have such an established religion, and that such religion should be governed with due subordination and upon principles consistent with its own safety. For his own part, he should like to see every unassuming, every pious pastor of the Church, well remunerated and provided for. The example of every other state of Europe bore testimony to the policy and the wisdom of making a national provision for the Clergy. But he confessed,

for one, he did not want to introduce into our East India territories, and our religious establishment in that country, that sort of high and vaunting ambition, which he knew to be inseparable from the possession of church dignity; and it did seem to him that the proposed germ of episcopal grandeur would, at no very distant time, spread itself wide, and interweave its branches with the very government and politics of India. It was impossible to disconnect lofty ambition from high station: and whether that high station be given to a churchman or to a man in civil authority, ambition, and love of power, could not be separated from the possessors of exalted situations and places of great trust. He merely suggested these observations with a view to impress upon the Court the necessity of considering, with becoming seriousness, a matter of such vast importance to the internal peace and welfare of our Indian territorial possessions.

He was now going to observe upon another point which he thought was of very serious moment. It was this: that though it was proposed by Ministers in the most unlimited degree, and though it was pressed upon the House of Commons by arguments of great earnestness, in point of policy and justice, that

all the people of the British Empire, from every port in Great Britain, ought to be allowed to trade to our East Indian ports,— (which ports, by the way, it was to be recollect, were all the Company's, either by purchase or legal cession)—that although they were to be allowed to trade to all our ports, to make use of all our harbours, to occupy our wharfs and warehouses, and to make use of all those conveniences erected by the Company for its own commerce, which had cost them so much pains, time, trouble, expense, and difficulty to complete, and by which the strength of their armies were required to protect and secure from the inroads of invading enemies;—to all these advantages, which had cost the India Company so many millions, were the new adventurers to be admitted:— yet there was not the most distant hint at *remuneration*, from one end of the noble Lord's speech to the other! Now, he confessed, he could not say that this savoured very much of justice. However, he must attribute so important an omission to inadvertency and the pressure of other matters upon the mind of the noble Lord: he could not suppose that His Majesty's Ministers would deliberately tell the East India Company that they were to give up all these advantages for nothing.

Most honorable men they were in their private characters, and therefore he could not anticipate such a conclusion to the negociation upon this subject. Others might dispute their claims to talent and political consequence. This was no theatre to discuss such points: but he believed there was no dissentient voice in that Court from his opinion, that there never was an administration which composed a greater body of private worth, of private character, of honesty and upright intention, than distinguished the present administration. (*Hear! hear!*) The noble Lord at the head of Indian affairs would forgive him if he had treated his official letters with any thing like severity of remark, but the least doubt of his integrity was a feeling he could not manifest with any degree of justice to his own intentions; because he believed that, in point of private worth and honor, that noble Lord would yield to none; therefore, from their virtue, their liberality, their integrity, and above all, their **JUSTICE**, he expected much. He was persuaded that when such a proposition as that which he would now put, was suggested to their honorable minds, their feelings of probity and justice must prompt them to consider this part of the subject in a manner more conducive to the interests of the Company. Was the Company, he

would say to the noble Lord, to receive no compensation for all those advantages that had cost them so much blood and treasure?—the latter of which, it was said, amounted to at least £20,000,000 of money? Were they to receive no remuneration from those who were thus to derive these advantages which the Company had, during a period of a hundred years and more, acquired by the most active industry—by the most liberal expence—by a profuse effusion of blood—by enduring the greatest hardships and anxieties—by sustaining the greatest losses—and by all those exertions which had characterized the enterprising spirit of an enterprising Company? Were the advantages of a commerce almost ready made to their hands, with all the implements and convenience of carrying it on with advantage to themselves—were all these objects, he asked, to be ceded to the merchants of the Outports, without the least remuneration for the advantages to be so acquired? Now, for his own part, he would willingly put that consideration to the merchants of Liverpool, the merchants of Glasgow, and all the sober and rational petitioners against the East India Charter.—He made this distinction of *sober* and *rational*, because, as he had already noticed, on another occasion, there were two species of petitions,—namely, the sober com-

mercial petitions, and the *poetical* petitions. (*A burst of laughter.*) The *poetical* petitions, he confessed, contained flights of fancy which were beyond his humble comprehension. It was true the sober commercial petitions contained points to which he did not subscribe; but he believed there was no man out of *St. Luke's Hospital* could subscribe to the others, when they came seriously to be considered. (*Bursts of laughter.*) These poetico-politico petitioners were pleased to consider, that every species, and every description of colonial regulation was an *usurpation of the inherent and unalienable rights of man*; and they desired that the East India Company should be pulled down and completely effaced, as a political and moral nuisance. That East India Company, which Lord Castlereagh said had raised an empire for its country, of a kind unexampled in the history of the world! that East India Company upon whose policy and upon whose government Lord Castlereagh had bestowed such just praise—but yet which these gentlemen were pleased, in their *wise* notions of political œconomy, to designate as “a political and a moral nuisance”. But the more grave and circumspect petitions, such as those from Liverpool, Glasgow, and other places (which he would not trouble the Court by naming), demanded, and were indeed entitled to a fair

degree of consideration, as well from the Company as from the Country. To *them* he should feel no hesitation in putting the Company's case, and saying—"do you think it just and right that you should be admitted to this participation of what is called the dead stock of the Company, and of the various implements which we have erected for the purposes of commerce, without paying to us a fair and liberal consideration?"

For his own part, he thought, judging of the disposition they had seemed to manifest, that they would say—No. He therefore did think, when the matter came to be more liberally and more justly represented to the House, they would see that it would be most injurious and most unjust to deal thus by the East-India Company. He had too high an opinion of the liberality of Parliament to think they would seriously and deliberately impose such hard terms upon them. Why, then, let the Court pause for a moment;—and he desired it to be understood merely as a hint that had occurred to his mind—but still it was matter of extreme importance to a measure of this kind, and it would be proper that the Company should not lose any opportunity of discussing all the propositions which were likely to be submitted, whether approved of by Parliament or not, in order that

when the question came before the House they should be able to meet all possible or imaginable difficulties. Now, he would suppose, that after all the evidence which might be produced before the House—after all the arguments which might be urged on both sides of the question—Parliament should at length come to a decision that the proposition for opening the trade to India should be carried, might not the Company, in that event, he would ask, be fairly and reasonably remunerated in some such way as *this* :—to allow them a proper and reasonable impost upon all commerce carried on by British merchants in this country to and from India?—That impost to be applied in this way. At present, by the act of 1793, under which the guarantee fund was established, it was provided that a guarantee fund should be settled for the purpose of remunerating the Company whenever their charter should be determined. It would be recollected that he had had the honour to observe when the Court first met on this question—(and it founded the ground-work of one of his Resolutions) that notwithstanding at the last renewal of the Company's charter, the late Lord Melville had admitted very fairly and very reasonably, that inasmuch as Parliament thought proper to take a proportion of the Company's trade from them, the Company ought in that proportion to be remunerated, and had raised their dividend

accordingly. He (Mr. Jackson) had the present Lord Melville's opinions on that subject in his hand, and his Lordship, he observed, stated in his letter, that not only all due care should be taken by Parliament to preserve the Proprietors in their rights, but that due consideration should be had for their commercial advantages, and the means by which they had hitherto carried on their trade in the East. Now, at present, there was not a single hint of that kind stated by Lord Castlereagh in his propositions to the House of Commons. But he was sure, whether that was or was not one of the noble Lord's propositions, that when the question should come to be fully considered—when the numerous papers and mass of important information in possession of the Company came to be laid before Parliament—he was persuaded they should not have to complain of the injustice of those to whom their cause was referred.—They would agree, he trusted, in the justice of the proposition, that those from whom the commerce was to be taken away, ought to receive every remuneration in the power of the country to give. “If the opening of the trade”—said Mr. Jackson—“be so mighty a boon to the adventurers—if it be of such vast benefit to the commercial interests of this country—if it be an object of the ardent hopes and sanguine wishes of the whole nation at large, surely the

nation can afford something for it. (*Hear! hear!*) And to whom should they pay, but to those from whom they take?"—Now though perhaps, in a particular distribution, by way of increased dividend to the proprietors, the plan he would suggest might not be approved, yet if the mode of remuneration was founded upon a general, though moderate impost, in the manner charged at present upon the private trade, it would be less objectionable and meet with less difficulty than if it were proposed immediately to raise the dividend on the Company's stock, as done at the last renewal of the Charter.

Supposing, therefore, this moderate duty or rate upon the Indian commerce of the country was to be imposed for a given time, to accumulate as a guarantee fund, to be paid in the name of the Commissioners of the Treasury, under such a commission as now exists in this country; these duties to continue, till they amount with interest to a sum of twelve millions of money, to act as a sinking fund, and to be subject to the same regulations, for the Company's use, for the payment of their debts, and so forth, as is provided with regard to the present guarantee fund, it would be, in his opinion, the most unobjectionable mode of remunerating the Company. This guarantee fund was a security which the late Lord Melville had suggested and admitted to be fair and equitable; which the act

of 1793 admitted to be just; and, he trusted, Lord Castlereagh would concur in recommending that this guarantee fund should be efficient, as he had declared that he thought nothing could be more unadvisable than to hold out hopes which could not be realised.

He (Mr. Jackson) therefore took it for granted, that when that noble Lord proposed the guarantee fund, he did not mean that it should be a *theoretical* fund; for that would have been unjust and a complete delusion upon the Company. Therefore, if the Government were serious, and meant that it should be *real*, not *visionary*, he saw no reason why a principle thus sanctioned by the authority of an act of parliament, should not be made effectual as to its object. He would therefore just suggest, not an unreasonable, but a reasonable impost, upon all trade to and from India, deriving protection and advantage from the Company's establishments, till it amounted to the sum of twelve millions sterling, the sum proposed by Lord Castlereagh. This was merely an intimation or suggestion for the consideration of the Court: and if there were one proposition, on the face of it, more just, more safe, more worthy the importance of the subject, and more equal in its operation than another, he thought it was the present; and he was not without hopes that something of the kind might take place.

Now with regard to the justice of this plan, one short proposition would, he thought, establish it. He believed that what was called the Company's *dead stock* in India, including wharfs, quays, warehouses, and a variety of other conveniences for commerce, were estimated at about twelve millions. He would, however, say ten millions, the interest of which would be £500,000 per annum; where, then, he would ask (as had been forcibly urged by the Deputy Chairman in the House of Commons), was the hardship of making the merchants thus trading to and from the Company's territories, pay a moderate duty, or some due consideration, for the advantages which they would thus derive? The Americans paid a double duty for much more limited advantages than those proposed to be given to the merchants of the British empire. If the principle were agreed to, he meant to suggest that the duties should accumulate, perhaps with Indian interest, till they should amount to the sum limited for the guarantee fund. This, he thought, was the least the Company could expect under all circumstances. To the country it could be no loss, but, on the contrary, would accelerate the participation of the public in the profits of the Company, as the next appropriation, after the completion of the guarantee fund,

was five-sixths to Government ; consequently, if that fund should be completed in seven or ten years, the sooner would the public derive this very considerable proportion of the Company's profits. It appeared to him (Mr. J.) to be as just and as rational a proposition as could be suggested, and, with all the deference that became him, he took the liberty of throwing it out for the consideration of the Court.

With many apologies for having detained the Court so long, he should briefly recapitulate the main arguments of the noble Lord, and the state of the question between the Company and his Lordship. The proposition contended for was, that the Company neither did or could carry on the Indian trade to the extent which it admitted of, and that the natives might, by an open trade, be induced to a much greater consumption of European commodities. His Lordship therefore proposed to Parliament, that the trade should be thrown entirely open, that is, that British subjects at large should be at liberty to trade from every port in the United Kingdom to every port within the limits of the Company's Charter, except Canton, thus allowing to them the vast and uncontrouled range of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Seas ; from whence they were to be at liberty to import into

every port of the United Kingdom, as soon as such port should be rendered sufficiently secure for the bonded system. Now the Directors had declared unanimously, and in the most solemn manner, that if such a supersession of their trade and authority should take place, the East India Company could not continue to exist, but that the whole system must determine. Then came this short question, what should the Company do to avert this great and mighty evil? The House of Commons had evidently indicated a wish, that evidence should be produced at their bar; and the noble Lord had agreed that the Company should have leave to shew cause, as it were, against such of his resolutions as they thought most deeply to affect them. They would therefore be permitted to prove the danger to be justly apprehended to the British empire in India, from the indiscriminate access to its shores of adventurers, as unlimited in number as description. —The utter improbability of any increased use or consumption of European articles among the natives—their ample supply at present—and the facility with which that supply could be increased, if necessary, through its present safe and well-guarded medium. The noble Lord had, of course, before he proposed so wide, so extensive, and so adventurous a plan, as the opening of

every port in India to every person in the United Kingdom who might choose to resort to it made up his mind as to the consequences which he was risking to the empire, and to that very trade itself which he was so anxious to extend. This was the question at issue. The Company were prepared to shew calamity and disaster inevitable, and increased consumption, for which the risk was professed to be encountered, almost impossible. He could not (Mr. Jackson said) sum up his own ideas upon the subject, so well as by referring to the short but luminous argument of a right honourable gentleman, whose quickness of conception the House had so often witnessed. "You admit," said the right honourable member, "that the empire is perfect—that its magnitude and strength excites your wonder, and its administration by the Company's servants extorts your praise—that that which, five and twenty years back, was treated in this House but as a splendid dream, has now become, by progressive care, wisdom, and understanding of the subject, a glorious reality, and yourself have drawn such a picture of our Indian empire as, in a political point of view, leaves the country every thing to rejoice at, and nothing to wish for, consequently the question is reduced to the single consideration of an *extension of trade*,

Let us then hear evidence at the bar, as to the probability and measure of this extension, that the House may judge, if, for the sake of it, they will risk impairing or losing so great a political blessing as that which you have described. It is said that the Indian trade, at present, yields an average profit of £400,000. per annum; supposing it be increased to eight hundred thousand, was the House prepared to say that the difference bore any proportion to the apprehended risk? The degree of danger from indiscriminate access, and lowering the authority and influence of the Company, contrasted with the supposed degree of extension of trade, seemed to him to comprise the main part of the question, and upon that he wished to hear the evidence of those who had been long in India, and were the most capable of informing the House."—Such (Mr. Jackson said) seemed to be the course for the Company to pursue, in order to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge if the Petitioners had made out any case, which could justify the known peril of superseding the functions of the Company, and lowering its influence and reputation among the natives, by a coercive transfer of its commerce.

After a few observations, touching the probable course of proceeding which the House of

Commons would adopt, the honorable and learned Proprietor concluded, by apologising for having occupied so much of the time of the Court, but justified himself upon the improbability of their meeting again before the discussion should take place in Parliament, and the importance of which he conceived it to be, that the Court should be fully possessed of the nature of the situation in which the Proprietors then stood.—

(*Hear! hear!*)

Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Hume rose almost at the same instant; but the Chairman gave precedence to

Mr. Hume, who said he was extremely sorry that he should have prevented the honourable Gentleman from addressing the Court; but he assured him that it was not his intention to detain the Court for any considerable length of time.

It certainly was not his wish either to answer or to follow his learned friend (Mr. Jackson) through his able, perspicuous, and long discourse, which, he was sure, every one present must have heard with considerable pleasure and satisfaction. (*Hear! hear!*)—There were, however, some few points of his speech to which he would wish shortly to address himself: but his chief view in rising now, was to consider what the object of

this meeting was,—namely, the resolutions now before them ; and to talk of them generally and abstractedly. He was not desirous of discussing them particularly ; but, in a general view, to consider how far the object and tendency of them would be advantageous to the Company, or advisable, if the Company should give their sanction to the Legislature to carry them into effect.

It was his satisfaction, on a former day, to signify his feeble but ample testimony to the merits of the government of the East-India Company. He was sorry, however, to think that any reference or allusion was made, of an invidious nature, to the labours of those who had the government of the East-India Company abroad and at home—labours which, he hoped, would be long continued with the same success and advantage to the affairs of the Company. He was happy that he now heard nothing more of those allusions ; for every where, as far as he had heard, the country was ringing with the praises of the Company, and re-echoing with the applause due to its wise administration, and the immense progress made in its government abroad. It was satisfactory to him, and to every one, to compare what had taken place within the period of one short year, in the opinion of the public, respect-

ing India affairs, with the state of the public mind at no very distant period. This happy change must be attributed to the agency of many of those gentlemen who sat within the bar, to whose dignified and proper conduct he had no hesitation in saying, was owing that great amelioration in the public sentiment; and he could not but hope that such an alteration would be attended with the greatest possible advantage to the affairs of the Company, when this subject came to be fully stimated by the administration of the country. The greatest regard was certainly due to the manner in which they had conducted themselves upon this momentous occasion. He was extremely anxious,—as the noble Lord who brought forward the subject in the House of Commons, had met the views of the Company with so much candour and liberality,—that the Company should manifest every disposition on their parts, to conciliate the good opinion of the Government, not only in every word and expression which might be construed into a feeling of irritation, injurious to the result of this great question, but that they should also, by their acts, shew a disposition to meet the Ministry upon the same terms of liberality by which *they* appeared to be actuated. He had the satisfaction

to hear from the lips of the noble Lord the declaration of a wish, not only on *his* part, but on the part of the *whole of His Majesty's Ministers*, to meet, fairly and liberally, contending opinions, and propose such terms as would satisfy the wishes of *all* parties.

He (Mr. Hume) would repeat again, what he had taken the liberty to state on another occasion, that it was not in the power of His Majesty's Ministers to act as they could wish ; it was not for them to pronounce decisively upon this subject, or acquiesce implicitly with the demands of the Company, or refuse to consider the statements made by gentlemen connected with the Outports. It was therefore satisfactory to find, upon a review of every thing stated by the noble Lord, that he, in his high office as a minister of state, had signified, with so much liberality and so much gentlemanly candour, a wish to meet the desires of the Company—that he, as a British statesman, should have shewn so much willingness and encouraging assurance in the dispensation of one of the greatest questions ever brought before the Legislature, in every point of view, whether it was weighed upon commercial or political considerations. Happy, therefore, was he to find that tendency, and that wish, on the part of the noble Lord, to meet the views of all parties ; and, con-

sidering that it must be attended with the greatest advantage to the public, he was anxious, as indeed he always had been, that the Company, on their part, should shew the utmost willingness to meet the Ministry, on the present occasion; because he was persuaded that a readiness to comply with the wishes of the Administration to accommodate all parties, must be attended with the most important consequences.—He strongly recommended, as the best way of adjusting the matter, that each party should give up something which they considered themselves entitled to. *That* was the way most likely to promote the interests of both, and conciliate the good-will of each other. Impressed, therefore, strongly with these ideas, he was anxious to take a short view of the Resolutions, as they had been now proposed to the House of Commons. In the first place, he begged to remind the Court that it was not to be considered that these resolutions were *final*. It was to be recollect that they were only the *recommendations* of His Majesty's Ministers. The Court were not to conclude that every one of them was to be carried into effect, unless they met the wishes and views of all the parties interested; and unless they would be likely to meet the approbation, as well of the India Company as of the Public; and improve the commerce of

the Country. They were not to be taken *now* as points which were to be subject to no revision nor amendment, if they were in any one instance objectionable. In the mean time, however, he invited the Court to consider, how far they were equal, to what the most sanguine expectations anticipated from them; how far they were consistent with the trade to India, as particularly confined to the India Company, or open generally to the merchants. He invited them to consider, whether the objects now proposed by His Majesty's Ministers to be recommended for the adoption of the Legislature, did not meet with the most sanguine views which every disinterested man could entertain. Leaving out of his consideration the clamour and outcry on one side, and the inordinate expectations which might, perhaps, be entertained by some members of the Court of Proprietors, he, for one, though he felt as anxious for the interests of the East-India Company as any man, did consider them extremely liberal; and he thought the Ministers were entitled to their warmest thanks for the readiness with which they came forward in resisting the demands of the Outports, as ruinous as they were absurd, and as improper as they were fallacious.

Upon that ground, he availed himself of

his right to call the attention of the Court to their proceedings, in respect of those Resolutions. It was well known, from the earliest establishment of the Company, that the Court of Directors had the most important duties to perform. They were not only important, but they were extensive and complicated, and as various as they were arduous. But, nevertheless, it was well known that their duties were performed with as great precision as if they were infinitely less numerous. It might, therefore, be very proper for this Court to reflect, how far it was possible to carry on the same independent government after the Outports were open, and with as much harmony and advantage as had been experienced during the last eighteen years. He was anxious, therefore, to point out a suggestion, which he hoped the Court would consider as coming from a mind anxiously disposed towards the welfare of the Company. It was a suggestion of his, with a view to point out, that the Court ought to meet His Majesty's Ministers upon the same friendly disposition, which those Ministers had manifested towards them.

He found, in the propositions which had been submitted to Parliament, that, by the 15th and 16th Resolutions, Ministers intended to continue to the East-India Company the

whole management of their extensive territories, with all its important privileges and advantages, in the civil and military government, which they had hitherto enjoyed. The Court of Directors, he believed, could not have expected such advantageous terms ; but, on the contrary, that they would have been called upon to give some pecuniary consideration for the renewal of those advantages. This was not the case ; it was proposed to continue the Company in the whole management of all the military, civil, and every other advantage connected with the government of their Indian possessions. It was also proposed to arm them, and put them in possession of every means of guarding against any danger that might possibly occur. He was sure he could not be mistaken in this proposition, because he had in his hand a few notes which he thought contained the sense of His Majesty's Ministers upon this subject. If he had not the precise words, he was certain he had the sense and sum of them. Lord Castlereagh said, " it was *his* intention, and that of His Majesty's Ministers also, to leave the East-India Company in full possession of all their authority, and every dependency thereunto belonging." In order to guard against those dangers which some gentlemen had so confidently insisted would fol-

low, should the trade be opened to the Outports, the Government had left nothing whatever to chance. They proposed to place the executive power of India in the hands of those officers to whom the command should be granted, under the sanction of the Company. It was intended to leave to them that power which could assure to this Court the absolute dominion of all their dependencies and territories in the East. Whatever might be the alarms and terrors of some gentlemen, the Court would still have the advantage of guarding against any interference that might be attempted in the affairs of their Indian settlements, unless the Government chose to explain to them their reasons at full length for making any alteration; but he knew it to be the serious intention of Ministers, that the complete government of India should be still left in the hands of the Company, with full authority to controul every class of persons who should have access to their territories, and to guard against any threatened danger to their dominion. With these general powers, then,—with the civil authority in their hands,—with the arms, and the whole of the military force under their command,—with all the full means of protection, where was the danger to be apprehended to the stability of their establishments? Ministers had

wisely thought, that the safety of the East-Indian possessions depended upon this arrangement; but, at the same time, the Company ought to be no less impressed with the importance of the advantages allowed them.—Was it nothing, he would ask, to have the whole command of the military at their disposal? Was it nothing to be still kept in possession of those institutions by which protection and personal liberty were secured to their subjects? Was it nothing, to be allowed to keep up 150,000 of the finest troops, perhaps, in the world, which was certainly the best means of backing the orders of their government?—For his own part, he thought these two points—namely, the military and civil power,—were of themselves sufficient to assure the Company against all apprehension of danger to their authority. They had that which constituted the safety of every country; and, therefore, in his opinion, the Company ought cautiously and seriously to reflect, whether, when so many advantages were given to them, they ought not to relinquish other minor points, which, even if granted, might be of little consequence.

But considering it necessary in a discussion of this nature, to guard against the vicious effects of popular delusion and erroneous conception upon

another point, he invited the Court to consider what the Government were disposed to do, upon the subject of the *China Trade*; and this, certainly, to the Company, was the most interesting and important, in a commercial point of view. Government were disposed to give the Company the most beneficial and the most valuable of all the Company's privileges. They were disposed to secure to them the *China Trade*, without the smallest interference or interposition, on the part of the Outports. So far was the commerce to *China* guaranteed.—And here, he must say, as he had said upon a former occasion, it was his confirmed opinion, that His Majesty's Ministers would do wrong in suffering any interference upon the part of the Outports in the trade of the Indian Archipelago.—(*Hear! hear! hear!*) He took the liberty of shewing, on the former occasion, the difficulties of carrying on that trade, in a two-fold view: In the first place, the extreme danger of the navigation of those seas, the shoals, tempestuous winds, intricate channels, and the dangers of imperfectly known difficulties; and, in the next place, the savage, barbarous, and intractable disposition of the inhabitants of those islands, which sometimes was productive of the most serious consequences to the persons who traded with them. It often happened, that whole

ships' companies were cut off and murdered by the inhabitants. To be sure he admitted, that in many of these cases, such acts of cruelty were consequences of aggressive acts on the part of their visitors. But from whatever cause those melancholy events proceeded, every person in India well knew, that with all the care that could be observed in keeping up a pacific communication with the inhabitants ;—with all the pains actually taken in educating persons in India for the trade; he meant in learning the languages of those people, and acquiring a knowledge of their habits and manners :—still, in every point of view, it was a most difficult and perilous trade. Surely, then, he could not hazard too much, when he said, that the difficulties would be in a ten-fold degree greater, to persons going out from England unacquainted with the navigation of the seas, and utterly ignorant of the manners and language of the inhabitants of those islands.—If this liberty was given to such persons, he had not the least doubt we should hear of the fatal consequences he had pointed out. But although he had no reason to think that the noble Lord proposed to give that liberty, yet he was sure it was an act of justice to those who were about to embark their lives and their properties in so hazardous and, he must say, dangerous a navigation, in every part of

it, to put them on their guard against the delusion of their own fancy. He did hope they would seriously reflect before they entered upon an undertaking which must be productive of ruin to themselves and their families. Whoever knew any thing of the navigation of those seas ;—whoever knew the coasts of Sumatra, Java, Batavia, and the other islands to which the Company had traded, knew it to be impossible that large ships could navigate in those seas, without imminent risk of destruction. Long experience had taught the persons carrying on that trade, that it was impossible for ships of three hundred and fifty tons burthen, which were generally rated at four hundred tons cargo, to be navigated in those seas. It was impossible then, even supposing the other difficulties to be without foundation, for ships from England to carry on the trade with the same advantage and security which enabled the Company's ships to be tolerably successful ; and they would have no chance whatever in competition with the Company's vessels, which had been long acquainted, not only with the navigation of those seas, but with the language, manners, and mode of commerce of the inhabitants. These, however, were merely suggestions of his own, and the result of his own observation. But he did really hope, notwithstanding the ap-

prehensions and suspicions of those interested in the welfare of the Company, that His Majesty's Ministers would be inclined to limit it, as well for the interests of the public, as in point of justice to the Company.

He should be very anxious to do justice to the arguments of his honorable and learned friend, Mr. Jackson, upon the subject of the China trade, if he could view it in the same light as his learned friend did. He could not agree with that honorable gentleman, that the idea of protecting the China trade, if the Out-ports were open, was merely visionary. He was not able to call that *visionary* or *ideal*, which experience had shewn to be founded in fact: because no man, he believed, would deny, that the means hitherto provided by the Company and the Government to protect its China trade, had been ample and sufficient for that purpose. It was his opinion, that there was no danger whatever to be apprehended upon this score; and his reasons for entertaining that sentiment were, that whatever the opinions might be which were held forth by people who did not consider the nature of the Manifest Acts—the danger and risk of confiscation, which ships, attempting to violate those acts, must run; and, even admitting the facility of smuggling, stated by the honorable

gentleman, still it would be impossible to escape detection ; and though it were probable, still it would not be worth the while of such persons to undertake it. He was persuaded, that no man in this country would be so speculative, as to bring home a ship of four hundred tons burthen, and loaded with property to a considerable amount, yet consent to run the risk of losing the whole of his property for the chance of smuggling one or two chests of tea. Every person knew the extreme rigour with which the Custom-house officers did their duty ; and even if *one* or *two* chests escaped their search, it would be still very difficult to land them : and, upon the whole, the dangers and risks would be too great to make it worth the while of any person to endeavour to carry on a trade attended with so many hazards. But, besides the vigilance of the Custom-house officers, to whom no one would attribute any remissness in their duty, could it be supposed that the Company themselves would not adopt every means, in their power, to secure one of their most valuable privileges ? Therefore, with that degree of risk in deviating from the law, and with the vigilance not only of the Custom-house officers, but of the Company themselves, he thought there was little or no danger whatever upon that subject.